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. . . The American Sunday School Union, one of the great forces which are gradually but surely working out the peace of society, is to hold its Diamond Anniversary in Philadelphia on the 24th and 25th of May.

. . . Mr. William E. Dodge, the eminent publicist of New York City, has a strong article in the *Christian Endeavor World* of April 20th, on International Courts of Arbitration.

. . . Lord Chief Justice Russell of England has been appointed a member of the Venezuela Arbitration Tribunal to succeed the late Lord Herschell.

. . . When Baron Herschell, the most conspicuous member of the Joint High Commission, died in Washington on the first of March, the Supreme Court adjourned, for the first time in its history doing this as a mark of respect for a foreign statesman and jurist.

. . . In accordance with a suggestion of the Federation of Churches and Christian Workers, special services were held in the Broadway Tabernacle, New York, on the evening of March 26th, to further the Czar's peace proposals. Addresses were made by Professor George Gunton and Dr. Charles L. Thompson.

### In Gladstone's Day

AND NOW.

BY HEZEKIAH BUTTERWORTH.

He saw the growing wrong, and spoke:  
 "The Afghan wills our arms to stay,  
 And he is right; I take my stand;  
 His waving spears ye may not charge!"  
 Then free again the Oxus flowed,  
 And open gleamed the mountain road.  
 For great to be was more than large  
 In Gladstone's day!

He saw the settled wrong, and spoke:  
 "The Transvaal wills our arms to stay,  
 And we were wrong; I take my stand;  
 Her reeds of air ye shall not charge!  
 Vee Boer, shall England justice lack?  
 I your republic give you back!"  
 For great to be was more than large  
 In Gladstone's day!

The Afghan's heart so England won,  
 The Hinterland to her gave way,  
 And rose and set the unsullied sun  
 On Afghan peak and Afric marge!  
 Old England's flag was glory then  
 When right was might, and men were men,  
 And great to be was more than large  
 In Gladstone's day

False is the war no poet sings,  
 And false the pride that will not lower  
 The flag to Justice—ours or king's—  
 To rise in glory evermore.  
 For to retreat for right is worth  
 All alien victories of the earth,  
 And great to be is more than large  
 To-day!

— *Springfield Republican*.

Boston, April 4, 1899.

### The Peace Crusade in Boston.

#### ORGANIZED LABOR'S CONTRIBUTION TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE.

ADDRESS OF MR. SAMUEL GOMPERS.

At the second of the peace meetings in Boston, held in Tremont Temple March 20th, Mr. Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, spoke in substance as follows:

Peace is usually disturbed by those having a sordid purpose. It is always the interest of the masses of the people to be at peace. Progress is usually interrupted when peace is interrupted. It has too often been true that wars are brought on by those who have power in governmental affairs, who have abused that power by unjustly treating the people over whom they ruled, and who sought then to divert attention from domestic injustice by foreign contests and conquests.

Mr. Gompers spoke at some length of the present war in the Philippines and of the question of "expansion", so called. He regarded the movement for expansion as really a movement actuated by desire for wider trade; and he deprecated a war upon the only people of Asia who had ever attempted to establish a republican form of government. The United States of America, he said, should not only be a powerful nation, a nation of might; but the republic of Washington and Jefferson and Lincoln and Wendell Phillips and Garrison and Sumner should always be in the right. When we depart from the right we lose that influence which we as a nation have exerted upon the progress of other nations. Returning then to the special subject of the address, he said:

The organizations of labor believe that a large standing army is always essential to maintain a policy of imperialism. We realize, too, that a large standing army is a menace to the liberties of the people and is always one of the causes contributing toward the rupture of peaceful relations among men. The army and the men who command it are desirous of exercising their profession, the butchery of man.

Our organizations aim always to lead the man, by association with his fellows, to realize that he does not live for himself alone and to feel that it is his duty to extend a fraternal hand to his brother-worker; thus he becomes broader and more intelligent. Organized labor recognizes that peace is necessary to successful industry and progress as air is to our lungs,—not only peace national but international. Peace, national or international is one of the underlying principles of the labor movement. And as we send our organizers from country to country, and organize not only the skilled workers but the unskilled as well, I look forward to a time when we shall not only inculcate peace among all classes in society, but when, if we cannot secure peace by intelligent action on the part of the powers that be, then the working people of all countries, united and federated, will refuse to make those articles and munitions of war that deal the death-blow to brother-men. I look to the dock-laborers to refuse to handle machines to destroy man; and I look to the seamen of the world to organize in a federation which shall extend the hand of fraternity and help to industry and commerce, but never to strike down a fellow-man.

It is one thing to declare for a principle and it is

another thing to make sacrifices in order that it may be maintained. One of the finest illustrations of unselfishness which the history of man has shown was the action of the cotton operatives in Lancashire during our Civil War. The ports of the South were blockaded by our ships; the cotton which supplied work for the Lancashire operatives was not forthcoming, and the weavers and spinners were unemployed and hungry, their wives and their children were pinched and tattered. The Cabinet of Great Britain were willing not only to recognize the belligerency of the Confederacy, but to employ the ships of Great Britain to raise the blockade so that the cotton could find its way to Lancashire. But when they sought to obtain the approval of the Lancashire operatives for that course, from meeting after meeting came the unanimous declaration, "We want no bread nor work that is based upon human slavery." It is to the lasting credit of British workers. It is so much to their credit that our martyred president, Abraham Lincoln, in one of his messages to Congress, took occasion to pay a well-merited tribute to the organized union workers of Great Britain and the service they rendered to the maintenance of the republic and the abolition of human slavery.

The union workers have not only resolved upon reaching international peace, but have gone as far as any body in the community in expressing this resolve. At the convention of the American Federation of Labor held in 1887 in the city of Baltimore, the declaration went forth, "We desire universal peace, and urge upon the government of our country the recognition of the treaty" then proposed. The chief promoter of international arbitration between the two English-speaking nations was none other than William Randal Cremer, the ex-secretary of the stone-cutters of Great Britain, a union man who carries his union card with him to-day. He came and Tom Pickard, member of Parliament, member of the coal miners' union, to this country with Sir Lionel Playfair, bearing about three hundred signatures of the members of the British Parliament, and waited upon President Cleveland to urge him to submit the treaty which was negotiated by the representatives of both countries. I am not sure whether an international treaty at this time is advisable; but I know that a treaty is being formulated by the workers of Great Britain and the United States which shall make for permanent peace.

At the conventions of the labor organizations in this country held in 1846, 1850, and 1868, protests were made against foreign wars, and resolutions were passed demanding disarmament in foreign countries, so that republican institutions and the peaceful solution of great problems might have proper opportunity. At the last convention, in Kansas City, I had the opportunity of saying this: "By a steady demand in the direction of maintaining the bond of fraternity and the recognition of the principle of solidarity in the international labor movement, we shall not only help to bear each other's burdens but shall continually make those burdens lighter and be a lever toward that international brotherhood of man when the wars of nations shall be a thing of the past, and the song of the poet, the dream of the philosopher, and the hope of the philanthropist and humanitarian be achieved." This was but my own feeling, but the convention, after having sifted the matter by a committee and reported upon it, adopted unanimously this statement:

"We endorse the position taken by the president on the invitation extended by the Czar of Russia to the nations of the world, inviting them to send representatives to a conference with a view to the disarmament of nations. And this convention places itself on record as approving of any movement which will tend to bring peace to the world."

The organizations of labor in all civilized countries are now in correspondence with each other. We send and receive annually our fraternal delegates, we issue our travelling cards and the members who take them find them a passport and bond of fraternity among the workers of all countries. There has never been a convention or a conference of workers which has not declared for peace, that has not taken every means at its command for creating peace and for impressing upon the public mind the absolute necessity for tranquility. I urge upon you all the consideration of this great problem as it affects the laborer, for every improvement in the lot of the worker means the upbuilding upon a higher level of the whole human structure. Let us hope and pray that no wrong may come to our country; but though we are Americans first, yet in being Americans we are not less humanitarians and lovers of our kind. For that peace which shall bless the whole of humanity we ask, for it we pray, and until it is achieved for it we shall contend.

Mr. Harry Lloyd, one of the best known labor leaders of this country, spoke briefly at the close of Mr. Gomer's address. He said, in substance:

Last Friday night when speaking in the Cooper Union of New York, I happened to mention this meeting, and the cheers that rang through the hall were startling. Three-quarters of the audience were members of the organizations of workers.

I was present at the British Trade-Union Congress in Bristol last year, when Pete Curran, representing the dock-laborers of Ireland, offered that splendid resolution commending to the workers the message of the Czar and asking the government of Great Britain to see to it that commissioners were sent to a peace conference. I do not know that the same motives prompt you which prompt me in seeking international peace. I am afraid of "the man on horseback." I have spent too many years of my life in fighting involuntary poverty to care to have "the man on horseback" at my door every day. From my youth up I have heard orators on the platform declaiming against standing armies in the Old World, and inviting those governments to take the soldier off the shoulder of the workingman. And because of my experiences abroad I am more firm in my belief. I cannot forget how in Germany I saw those beautiful young men, gorgeously dressed in their magnificent uniform, strutting up and down the streets; and how in that same country I saw a milch cow, a horse and a woman hitched to the same plough. In France, militarism is rampant, and the wage-worker starving. In Holland, with its large standing army for a small country, I saw four women dragging a canal-boat. In Belgium, I saw women carrying the hod and working in the coal mines. In England, I saw women, almost stripped to the waist, making nails and chains as blacksmiths for seven shillings a week, and singing, "For Britons never, never, never shall be slaves." It is because of these things that I am for international peace.

The labor organizations stand against war; we know

what it means. We have seen in history how, when the common people have got their attention fixed upon great public questions at home, that moment "a vigorous foreign policy" is inaugurated and a war started and fools are running to fight. When we point out to the powers that be that there are two millions of men unemployed upon the street, the answer is, "Hurrah for the flag!" Yes, but fourteen hundred thousand married women leave their homes every morning to work in mill and factory. "Never mind, hurrah for the flag!" But there are millions of little children denied the advantages of education. "Never mind, hurrah for the flag!" The labor organizations will cheer the flag when the flag stands for the protection of the home, the fireside, the women and the children, but not when it is carried into war to impose upon the people burdens that do not belong there. Boston and Massachusetts stand for peace. We know what it means. We are glad to be in sympathy with you in this movement. I am not in favor of an alliance offensive and defensive with any country, that we may send our army and navy officers strutting round the world with a chip on their shoulders; but I am in favor of a great international board of arbitration that will settle those questions by the arbitrament of wit and of thought, and not by the arbitrament of the sword and the pistol.

Mr. George E. McNeill, the veteran of the labor movement in Boston, spoke a few words before the meeting closed. He said:

War comes with injustice, peace comes with equity. Wherever injustice exists, there must and will be war. There is war in our hearts if we deal unjustly with our neighbor. There is war in our institutions if through them inequity exists. Organized labor stands for peace, not only for the peace called for by the Czar of Russia but the peace which was called for over eighteen hundred years ago.

### Women's Work for Peace.

GRAND RALLY IN TREMONT TEMPLE.

Addresses by Julia Ward Howe, Mary A. Livermore and others.

The Women's Peace Crusade meeting in Tremont Temple, Boston, at noon on Monday, April 3rd, was a most impressive occasion. At least two thousand five hundred persons were present and much earnestness and enthusiasm were manifested. Addresses were made by Julia Ward Howe, Mary A. Livermore, Lucia Ames Mead, Miss O. M. E. Rowe, president of the Massachusetts State Federation of Women's Clubs, and by Alice Freeman Palmer. The addresses of Mrs. Howe and Mrs. Livermore are given in full below. Mrs. Mead gave some of the startling economic facts which show that armed peace has come to be, in its way, as great a curse as war itself. Recent weapons are, she said, from ninety to two hundred times as powerful as those of thirty years ago. The war debts have doubled, the armies have grown to enormous proportions, the burdens of taxation have greatly increased, every nation in Europe is spending from two to twelve times as much upon armaments as upon education. The remedy is found in the substitution of arbitration for the arbitrament of the sword. Arbitration is already here and has been eminently successful. One hundred years hence war will have been put away as duelling has been put behind us.

Miss Rowe spoke briefly, but most forcibly of the work which is being done and should be more fully done by the Women's Clubs, and presented the following resolutions which were unanimously adopted by the great audience:

*Resolved*, That this assembly urges the national and state Federations of Women's Clubs and other organizations of women throughout the United States to prosecute a vigorous campaign of education in regard to the evils of standing armies and navies, with a view to secure the establishment eventually of a permanent tribunal for the adjustment of international difficulties.

*Resolved*, That we urge the clergy and the press to take a more active interest in the coming peace conference called by the Czar at The Hague, to the end that the commissioners sent by our government may be reinforced by a strong public opinion; and that we urge all lovers of right to use their utmost influence to create a powerful public sentiment in favor of settling all international differences by courts instead of by armed force, by appeal to reason rather than to passion.

*Resolved*, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the Czar, to President McKinley, and to organizations of women throughout the country.

The closing address of the meeting was by Alice Freeman Palmer who urged all individuals to arouse themselves to a sense of their personal responsibility, and to do their duty in their personal spheres. She also urged the training of the children in the schools to right ideas in regard to arbitration and peace, and suggested the offering of prizes in the schools for essays on arbitration and peace.

### The Development of the Peace Ideal.

BY JULIA WARD HOWE.

The theme allotted me for my ten minutes speech to-day was the Development of the Peace Ideal. To treat this ever so briefly I must revert to matters in the past which make evident the progress already made in this direction. I might go back to that Latin author, Tacitus, if I mistake not, who tells of an Advocate of Peace who, when once the legions of Rome were drawn up in battle array, confronted the ranks, and endeavored to dissuade the soldiers from the shedding of human blood. The historian avers that this apostle met with a rough response and would have been roughly handled if he had not ceased his untimely exhortation (*nisi intempestivam sapientiam reliquisset*).

I remember in my early youth to have seen at a friend's house in New York a modest elderly man who was pointed out to me as being all that was left of the American Peace Society. Into the history of this Society I did not then inquire. If I had done so, I should have found that Judge William Jay, son of John Jay, had given it the assistance of his name. I was in Boston in 1845 when Charles Sumner delivered his celebrated oration on "The True Grandeur of Nations." This plea for peace principles was at the time regarded as a Quixotic and mal-apropos utterance and although admired by some was derided by many. I, myself, first thought seriously of these matters in the year 1870, when my sympathies turned strongly towards France betrayed by her government into an insensate war, from which she came forth mutilated and humbled. The cruel waste of human life